

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

Organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party

BRITISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (TROTSKYIST)

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## WHAT IS WRONG WITH A CAPITALIST LABOUR'S PROGRAMME PRIVATE ENTERPRISE PREDOMINATES

By V. CHARLES

**U**NDER the title "Labour Believes in Britain," the National Executive of the Labour Party has published its proposed programme for 1950 General Election. If ever a title was well-chosen, this one is, for its appeal is mainly directed at that amorphous mass, "the British people," rather than to that section of the population, the working class, who can alone effectively carry through the transition to Socialism.

While, here and there, there are concessions to the pressure from the rank-and-file, in the main the proposed programme marks a victory for Herbert Morrison and the "consolidators." Great emphasis is laid on the achievements of the first four years of the Labour Government, in the hope that in the reflected glory of the past, the slower pace at which the Labour leadership contemplates the future will be forgotten.

It has long been the claim of the Labour leaders that in their first term of power they would lay "the foundations of Socialism." Once having laid the foundation, one would have surmised that the erection of the superstructure would proceed at an accelerated pace. Labour's second five years would see the economy rapidly losing its capitalist character and becoming more and more Socialist. But the Labour Party leaders do not pursue that road of logic.

### Will The Slump Be Avoided ?

The Labour leaders have the illusion that they can somehow prevent the slump even though the decisive section of the economy still remains in private hands. In their pamphlet, they say:

"In the past the first signs of a depression have coincided with cuts by private management in their orders for new machinery, buildings and other equipment. Engineers and builders have been thrown out of work; their purchasing power has fallen and the spiral of full depression has been set in motion.

The Government will encourage private enterprise to go on ordering new equipment

if signs of the depression should once more appear. Yet in the last resort private investors cannot be compelled to invest if they are determined not to do so."

To deal with this situation, where private employers cease to invest, the Government proposes certain measures.

"But when needed to maintain full employment, public investment can be expanded. The Government will be ready to increase its own orders for new equipment. Local authorities and other public bodies will be encouraged to add their own projects to the nation's anti-slump effort. Above all, plans can and will be made in advance by the socialised industries for stepping up investment in order to prevent any slump developing. This public sector of industry is of especial value as a protection for the nation against economic blizzard."

The basic fallacy here lies in the fact that it is precisely the nationalised heavy industries which will be harder hit by a slump than any other. It is steel, coal, railways, electricity, the bulk of whose product and services go to supply other industries, which must be affected



CRIPPS— Popular with the Tories

by a slowing down of production in other industries. The workers in these industries will have to be laid off when the capitalist markets for their output dwindle. To suggest a further investment and modernisation of these industries in those conditions would not solve the problem. Furthermore, the increased capital expenditure which the Government advoc-

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## A CAPITALIST BUDGET

### TAX RICH—NOT THE POOR

By G. NOSEDA

**T**HE Budget came as a shock to the workers. Only the Tories, the F.B.I. and the capitalist press welcomed the "realism" of the Government. Well they might, for the cutting of food subsidies and granting of tax concessions to capitalist industry has been long campaigned for by the employers.

Dearer food—the biggest single item in the average working-class family budget—is the result of the "ceiling" of £485 million imposed by Cripps on the food subsidies. On the basis of current prices this means that £67,000,000 will be added to the housewives' food bill this year.

Cripps made it clear that future price rises will also be passed onto the ordinary consumer. "We propose," he said in the Budget speech, "to put an effective and firm limit on subsidies, so that if there is a further rise in cost it will be added to prices..."

### Tax Concessions to Employers

From a Labour Government the workers had every expectation that the burdens of heavy taxation would be placed upon those most able to bear it—the capitalist class. But Cripps dispelled this illusion, announcing substantial tax concessions to private enterprise. The increase, from 24 to 40 per cent. of tax-free wear and tear allowance for plant and machinery adds £75 million a year in tax relief to the pockets of the employers.

The Federation of British Industries had campaigned for tax concessions with the argument that they cannot meet the cost

of replacing equipment. But the Economic Survey of 1949 states that of the increase of £950 million in the national income between 1947 and 1948, £500 million represents the increase in all forms of income apart from that of wages and salaries (including the usual forces' share). Nearly two-thirds of this sum, that is £330 million, "is accounted for by the increase in the gross profits of the companies."

In spite of the limitation of dividends, distribution of gross dividends is estimated to have increased by £25 millions. According to the Survey, the remainder, after paying tax, was available to private enterprise to finance re-equipment. As the Daily Herald City Correspondent pointed out, before the Budget "... industry, in making claims for greater tax remission ... has been rather overstating its case."

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## Help the Fourth International FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED

**T**HE International Executive Committee of the Fourth International is appealing to all its members, supporters and sympathisers to make a special drive in the month of MAY for funds to press forward its activities.

The Fourth International has no financial resources outside those contributed by its working-class adherents. The urgency of the appeal is underlined by the progress and the needs of our movement in Italy and Germany. Progress which at present could go forward much quicker were it not hampered by the limited financial resources of the International as well as of the Italian and German comrades. There is much that can be done in these and other fields given the necessary financial aid.

In Britain every R.C.P. member, supporter, contact and sympathiser of the Fourth International should regard it as their personal responsibility to help forward the work of our international movement and donate generously to this special May Fund.

The Party will be organising a number of social events, all monies going to this special international fund. All branches should discuss what they can do in this respect in their localities.

The Political Bureau has opened a subscription list and urges all comrades, supporters and sympathisers to give generously. All contributions should be sent to A. Ross, 256, Harrow Road, London, W.2, and marked MAY INTERNATIONAL FUND.

## THE MARKOS PURGE SOME FACTS ABOUT THE GREEK C.P.

**I**N its smallest print and in a hidden-away corner, the Stalinist press of France and elsewhere announced "the serious illness of General Markos" and his resignation from "political and military responsibilities."

No one is fooled by the diplomatic illness of Markos. The Markos affair is organically linked with that of Yugoslavia.

The principal base of the Greek partisans which has enabled them to hold firm, was the aid from Tito's Yugoslavia and partly from Albania.

The relations between the Greek and Yugoslav partisans was always the most friendly, the most close. When the Cominform excommunicated Tito, this came like a bombshell to the Markos partisans. The Greek partisans adopted a compromise position, avoiding any definite entry into the choir of the "anti-Titoists" and continuing their technical co-operation with Belgrade. Markos personally, along with a section of leading Greek Stalinists, seem to have resisted any definitive break with Tito.

Other reasons intervened to accentuate the uneasiness among the Greek partisans, and the more or less open differences among their leaders. Until the Cominform's break with Tito, the perspective of a "Soviet" Balkan Federation, including

all of Greece, remained open to the Greek partisans and galvanized their revolutionary energy. But since the split, the plan of detaching only Greek Macedonia has been sketched more and more clearly. This region is to be included in a Federation of South Slavs, sponsored by Dimitrov's Bulgaria.

Now the Greek partisans have a traditionally powerful attachment to the integrity of Greek territory. They are unwilling to accept any Federation plan which does not mean the Balkan Federation including all the countries of the Peninsula on an equal footing. This deep sentiment of the partisan masses is probably shared by a number of the politico-military Stalinist leaders.

Markos, who rose from the inner cadres of the Greek C.P., was very probably at the head of this fraction. Such a position could not fail to draw him still closer to Tito.

Markos represented that tendency inside the bureaucratic leadership which shied away from the direct and absolute control on the part of the Kremlin. This appears plainly from the changes effected in the partisan General Staff and the "Government of Free Greece."

### Staff Purged

An entire staff of leaders, including Markos, Roussos and his famous companion Chryssa Chatsivasilou and Porphyrogenis, have been purged. The reins of power have passed, first of all, to Gianos Ioannides, and to Zachariades. Ioannides has been a member of the Central Committee since the expulsion in 1927 of the Trotskyist majority of this body, headed by the party's General Secretary Pantelis Pouliopoulos (shot by Italian occupation authorities in 1943). Ioannides is one of the few members of the C.C. of the Greek Communist Party who, throughout the successive shake-ups and in spite of excommunications from Moscow, has never lost his place in that body. He is generally considered to be "Moscow's man" in Greece, i.e., the Kremlin's direct-agent, belonging both to the party and to the G.P.U.

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# CONDITIONS OF LONDON PORT WORKERS

## A DOCKER WRITES ON THE RECENT STRIKE

Dear Brother,

During the recent dock strike, as during every dock strike, the daily press devoted much space to criticising the dockers and did what they could to incite public opinion against the strikers. They are always careful not to give publicity to the dockers' case.

As a working docker I ask you to give space to this letter in which I will try and outline some of the disgraceful conditions the London Port Worker has to put up with.

In the recent strike involving 16,000 men, there were 11,000 on unofficial strike (those belonging to the Transport & General Workers' Union, which includes me) and the remainder on official strike (those belonging to the Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union). This was because the leadership of the A.S. & D.U. were prepared to stand by the interests of their members; so far as the leaders of the T. & G.W.U. are concerned—well, words fail me.

At all branch meetings of the T. & G.W.U. (as long ago as I shouldn't care to remember) a proposal was put forward and seconded by members for a Pension Scheme, as we had heard that older men were going to be made redundant.

### "Too Old"

A proposal was put forward by the Union for negotiation. In the meantime some men were declared "ineffective" and too old for this work. When the Board made this declaration our Union leaders sat back and agreed. We, apparently, are expected to sit back and "take it" while our original demand goes through the procedure of negotiation.

Now, this is a quack for which these men have been declared ineffective requires (to quote T. W. Condon, Docks Secretary of the T. & G.W.U., in *The Star* and *Daily Mirror*) "toughness and energy far above the average man." Yet, this same man, who requires to be tough and energetic, has unsuccessfully demanded, through his Union branches, the extra rations for heavy workers, since the war. This is still being negotiated.

If the Port Authorities wanted to provide older men (who have given their lives to the industry) with work, they could easily do so. These men could easily handle a broom and a rake to clean the railway lines—and, believe me, they could do with a cleaning.

If there is anyone ineffective, it is the leaders of the Union, where the clearing out should be begun.

The average person should ask themselves—is it not some deep-seated grievance that makes 16,000 men stand solidly for their demands? Can they all be wrong? While we are on strike, standing by our dismissed brothers, we do not get a penny piece, and we forfeit holiday pay.

### A Docker's Day A Typical Example

Of course, many people may consider that the stevedores and dockers don't care about losing wages. The daily press would have you believe that we are about the highest paid workers in the country. According to some reports that are put out about dockers' wages, many people may well imagine that it is the dockers and their families who clutter up the dining salons and cocktail lounges of the Savoy, Dorchester and the Ritz, and that it is the wives of the shipowners who are really harassed by the daily round of queuing.

I will give you an idea of a day in the life of a docker. I am a typical example. I rise at 5 a.m. to get to work by 7.30 and start at 8 a.m. I work piece-work until 7 o'clock, getting home at 8.30 p.m. That is, I think 15½ hours a day. On my return home I just fall into a chair, have my dinner, and am then ready for bed. And the average wage for 5 days at these hours is approximately £6 10s.

### Piece-work and Profits

Now, there has been a lot said about piece-work. When the dockers and stevedores wanted to return to work on Day Work conditions, pending a settlement of the dispute, everyone said the industry cannot be run on that basis. What they really meant was that it wouldn't be so profitable for the millionaire shipowners.

To give an example: when an 8,000 or 9,000 ton ship comes into dock we start discharging the cargo on a piece-work basis, which is the regular custom. And, not a single individual can challenge the efficiency of the London docker. Now, if we were to discharge the cargo on Day Work it would take about three weeks to complete the job. On piece-work it is finished in five days.

Here is the point. The cost of keeping a ship lying at a berth in the docks is about £300 a day. By a little arithmetic you can see that piece-work puts, for that one ship, the trifling sum of £4,800 into the ship-owner's pockets. On top of this, by our working piece-work, the shipowner gets practically another round trip out of the vessel which brings him hundreds of thousands of pounds extra, over a period of time (for example, the net profits last year of Furness Withy were £2,300,863).

Yes, it is very convenient to talk about dockers' wages, but it's about time the spotlight was put on to the racket of the shipowners.

### Years of Negotiations

To come back to that famous word—"negotiation." What could be settled in a matter of weeks is usually dragged out for years. Apart from the example I have already given, here is another. In 1944, through our branches (which the press, in their lectures to us state is the correct machinery to use) we asked our Union to put forward three major proposals. They were: (1) A rise on our basic wage. (2) Better facilities at the docks. (3) Two weeks' holiday.

### Better Facilities

We put up with a great deal. I must tell you of the facilities about which we have been negotiating for five years. The lavatories are such a disgrace that a pig would run out of them. No self-respecting person would use them for fear of becoming infected. We handle all classes of cargo, everything that is mined and grown, and some of it is filthy. When we go to dinner or have a cup of tea there is nowhere to wash our hands. These are only a few of the objections. They could be added to, to such an extent, that this letter would more than fill your paper.

It is now 1949 and these demands are still being negotiated! How do you think the dockers view the Negotiation Procedure? They look upon it as would any other normal, sane section of the population in the light of such examples—practically worthless.

That does not mean that we are opposed to negotiating questions. But when the employer knows, as Deakin tells him is the case, that if our demands are thrown out the leadership of the Union will do nothing more about it, then all the employer need do is to sit back and relax. In fact, the only times when negotiations have been speeded up has been when the other side knew that if they didn't come to terms we would do something about it—and quickly.

The employer relies on Deakin to "keep the boys in check." If he fails, they rely on the protection of the Government (and they know they have it). And the press goes to it. They tell you that these dockland monsters are withholding your meat, butter and cheese. It's a wonder they don't even talk about squads of dockers going the rounds snatching the eggs and bananas out of the mouths of little children.

### Jobs Can Be Found

Issues drag out. We patiently negotiate and put up with it all until the men get boiled up and the inevitable happens, as in the case of the strike over the "ineffectives." The rich owners have sucked the best years from the lives of these older men. Now they want to fling them on the scrap heap. The 16,000 strikers viewed this injury to the old-uns as an injury to them all.

We say they can be employed. We could find a job for them to-

morrow, and they would still be of more use to the community than the shipping shareholders.

In my opinion, however, given that there are jobs to do, whether the old and disabled work or not should be up to them. And if they don't choose to work because they want a bit of leisure in their later years, they should be given adequate pensions which will keep them in comfort. What the older men really want is not to slave themselves to death, but the right to a reasonable living with the feeling of independence which can only exist with financial security.

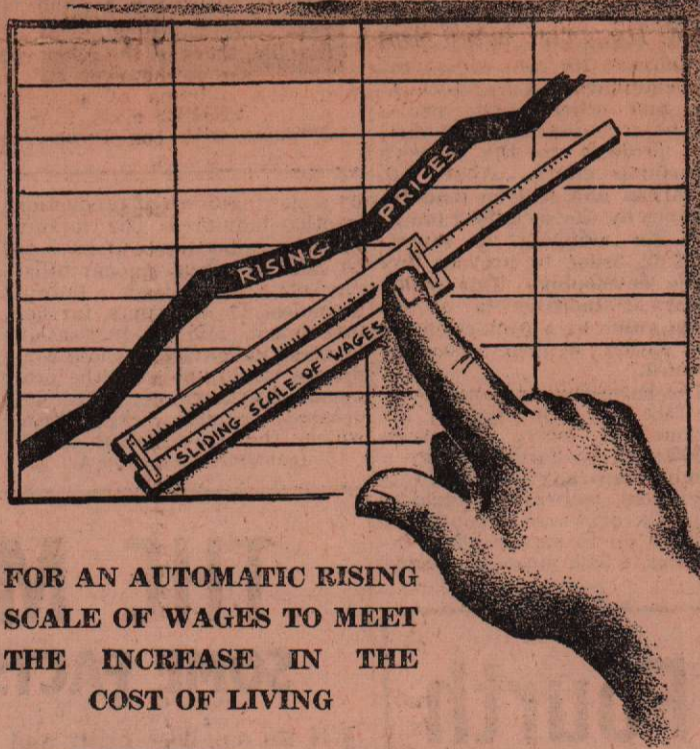
Some men may not be able to do jobs available in any industry. We all get past our best at some stage. The community has a responsibility to those who have sweated for the community during their lives. It is the responsibility to ensure decent conditions in old age.

Never mind, we have the bona fide word of the Union officials that the grievance which caused the strike will go through the correct constitutional procedure—that is, negotiation. Maybe I'll write you another letter in five years' time telling you how the negotiations are progressing.

This is not a political letter. I have no political affiliation. It is just a straight from the shoulder view of a man who is in the industry.

Yours, etc.,

"A DOCKER."



## PAYMENT BY RESULTS IN BUILDING

**T**HE Communist Party is at the present time opposing payment by results in the building industry and is generally trying to convey the impression to building workers that they are, and always have been, the arch-enemies of this form of piece-work.

But this does not at all correspond to the facts. Here is an extract from the Stalinist "New Builders Leader" of December, 1946. Under the heading "Incentive Payments in the Building Industry," this is what they had to say then:—

"To be or not to be, that is the question." Hamlet's dilemma was, it seems, not less urgent than our own.

The question as to whether or not we should accept the principle of Incentive Payments is being discussed too often without reference to the real reasons for its necessity. In fact the case is so self-evident one would have thought that no need would arise for arguing for or against. The real issue now is, **NOT WHETHER WE WILL ACCEPT SUCH A PRINCIPLE, BUT RATHER, HOW SOON WILL WE SETTLE IT?** (Emphasis in original.)

Further on they say:—  
"It must be made illegal, and regarded as a deliberately anti-social act to do anything contrary to the terms of the Incentives Agreement."

In other words, if P.B.R. had been adopted the way the Stalinists wanted it in 1946, it would have enabled the employers to call in the police if building workers refused to work P.B.R. on any particular site or job.

The explanation of this particular C.P. twist is the same as for all the others. In 1946 the Russian Stalinists were still on good terms with imperialism. Now that the "cold war" is on between East and West, they oppose Payment By Results. If and when Stalin does another deal with imperialism, the C.P. "line" will change again.

JOE C.

## AUSTIN BOSS SPEAKS HIS PIECE

**O**N March 31st, Mr. J. Gibson Jarvie, deputy chairman of the Austin Motor Co., and a leading London financier, made a speech to the Economic League in Birmingham. According to the Birmingham Evening Despatch, Mr. Jarvie "wants to reduce wages in industry."

Mr. Jarvie had also something to say about the Labour Government and Socialism. "The false teaching of the Government had corrupted many people," he declared. "The time was long overdue for a change."

Those who think that the employing class has been so bribed, scared, or is so steeped in democratic constitutionalism that it will no longer struggle if its domination of industry is really threatened, should note carefully his added statements.

### "Greater Enemy"

"To secure their (the Labour Government's) dismissal may require drastic steps for this conventional country of ours with our ingrained love of constitutional methods..." "We are facing the threat of war, the Third World War. But this Socialism is a greater enemy than war. War may destroy your property and your body but Socialism will destroy your soul."

The working class, and particularly the Austin Motor Co. workers, should note well this speech of Jarvie.

## BIRMINGHAM YOUTH OPPOSE CONSCRIPTION

Dear Comrade,

At a delegate Conference convened by the Birmingham Trades Council Youth Advisory Committee on 23rd March, young trade unionists carried a motion opposing conscription as being against the interests of the Labour Movement.

The feeling against conscription was so strong that a motion was accepted by the chair: "That this Conference considers conscription is not in the interests of the Labour Movement, and calls upon the Youth Advisory Committee to oppose it." Discussion continued on the motion, and while the "Not-a-day-over-the-year" policy was attacked from all sides, not one Y.C.L. member attending as a trade union delegate spoke in defence of this policy. One young worker pointed out the economic side of the question, that conscription was a great burden on the economy as a whole. A young man in R.A.F. uniform spoke in support of the motion, saying that from what he could see, he was fighting against his own interests as a member of the working class. However, the Y.C.L. remained silent; an interesting point was that a not-so-young-Stalinist spoke vehemently against the motion, saying that the essential point in the "struggle against U.S. imperialism, and capitalism, was that the working class must use the existing state apparatus to train in the use of arms, that there was very little chance of a workers' army, and described the motion as "this red herring of conscription." After more discussion the motion was put to the vote, and carried 18-5. There were approximately 30-35 present, and it is worthy of note that the one older Stalinist voted against the motion while the Y.C.L. present all voted in favour. The position in Birmingham is that many of the Y.C.L.'ers oppose conscription but feel obliged to toe the Party line.

Fraternally,

YOUNG BIRMINGHAM WORKER.

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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## MAY DAY

**MAY DAY** is Labour Day, a day when it is traditionally for the working class organisations internationally to demonstrate their solidarity with each other; and to dedicate themselves to the cause of the emancipation of the working people, to the cause of Socialism and peace.

On May Day 1949, only three and a half years after the second world blood-bath, peace seems to the populations of the world to be as far distant as the moon.

### The Atlantic Pact

As part of the preparations for war, the Atlantic Pact has been signed by Bevin in the name of the British Labour Government. The signatories attempt to justify this imperialist alliance by describing it as a "protector of our way of life," as an alliance to "defend democracy." Meanwhile, Negroes are lynched in the U.S.A., colonial peoples are shot down in Malaya; Gold Coast trade unionists are persecuted and racial oppression continues in South Africa. Is this the "democratic way of life" the Atlantic Pact is designed to protect?

The U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, has clearly indicated the "democratic" content of the pact. In reply to a question on Spain, at a press conference on the pact, he emphasised that the present parties to the pact "may invite any country with certain qualifications," and that the section of the pact describing "democratic" qualifications for membership "wasn't a bar."

American imperialism and the other Atlantic Pact nations are thus obviously willing to cohort with Franco at any time they think opportune.

### The Crimes Of Stalinism

The record of the capitalist rulers demonstrate that they are ill-fitted to speak against the regimes behind the "Iron Curtain." The crimes of Stalinism cannot be dealt with by such people. However, many people are being deluded by the propaganda of the signatories to the Atlantic Pact, in which they claim to be leading a crusade against totalitarianism.

The responsibility for this rests, in the main, at the door of the Moscow ruling clique and their "Communist" Parties throughout the world, whose actions have repelled many workers.

The police regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe, the suppression of workers' democracy, the cynical methods of Russian diplomacy, the constant changes of "Communist" Party policy in the interests of the Russian bureaucracy, are all factors which have eased the task of the imperialists in making ideological preparations for war.

### War Inevitable Under Capitalism

So long as capitalism is not overthrown war is inevitable. The war will arise from hard economic reality, from the need for capitalist-imperialism to find markets, sources of raw materials and fresh areas for exploitation. The imperialists talk about an "Iron Curtain," but only because this signifies that a considerable section of Europe and Asia has been closed off as a field for profitable capitalist activity.

The struggle for peace can only be a struggle against the "Atlantic" and other imperialist pacts and against the secret diplomacy of the world powers. And, primarily, this means for the British working class a struggle to eliminate the grip of the employing class from the economy.

### The Need For A Bold Programme

A bold programme both at home and abroad would transform the situation. It is the existence of a capitalist encirclement which provides the excuse for the continuation of the monstrous regimes in Russia and the "satellite" countries. The overthrow of capitalism by the working class in any of the major capitalist nations would herald the doom, not only of world capitalism, but of Stalinism also.

Neither the Anglo-American imperialist bloc gathered around the Atlantic Pact, nor the Stalinist bloc can solve the problems of mankind. Neither the millionaires in the City of London and Wall Street, nor the bureaucrats in the Kremlin can offer a way out of the impasse. Only the initiative and mighty movement of the workers, organised to take power in their own hands, can solve the problem facing mankind.

Against the chauvinism of Stalinism and the reactionary policies of the imperialists, the working class must fight to break down the national boundaries and join Europe and the world in a series of Socialist United States.

This is the answer to the nightmare of war, slump, poverty, unemployment, fascism and reaction. This is the task to which the working class must dedicate themselves on May Day 1949 if civilisation is to march forward out of the morass which is engulfing it.

# WHY TORIES OPPOSE Insurance Nationalisation

## RAMIFICATIONS WITH COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE

By G. NOSEDA

**T**HE insurance business, vested as it is at present in the hands of private enterprise, is a vast financial institution of commercial and investing capital. As such, it constitutes a bulwark of private enterprise in Britain, and—a formidable barrier to the furtherance of Socialism.

The workers have a direct interest in the nationalisation of insurance. It is their weekly or periodic premium payments which is the initial source of the insurance bosses investing capital; investments through which insurance is bound up in capitalist industry in a thousand ways.

### Workers Pay for Insurance Profits

£100 million a year alone for instance, is collected from 10 million households in Britain by the Prudential and those insurance companies represented by the Industrial Life Offices Association. Mr. J. K. Wiseman, chairman of the latter, said recently that insurance offices "will fight for their lives" against nationalisation of the industry. According to the *Daily Telegraph*, "a recent test survey on behalf of the association (the I.L.O.A.) among wage-earning families showed that nine out of every 10 families had industrial policies, paying an average premium of 4s. 3d. a week." The Prudential, one of the largest of insurance societies, with an annual income of £92½ million, made a profit last year of £13½ million. Their profits, like those of the other companies, are not however, enjoyed by the millions of premium-paying working class families, but by the coupon-clippers and insurance bosses.

### Assets—£2½ Thousand Million

The total assets of the assurance companies amount to more than £2½ thousand million. An increase, since 1935, of about £1,000 million. In 1948, the assurance business had a net profit of £33 million from overseas accounts alone, not including investment and ownership of property sources of income. The proportion of these total assets held by the industrial insurance side are over £1,200 million. The Prudential has current assets of £535,000,000, and the Pearl, £164,250,000. These huge assets are invested profitably in wide sections of capitalist industry.

### Prudential's Investments

*Daily Express*, 13.4.49, said there was hardly a major British company in which the Prudential is not a shareholder. Accord-

ing to *Reynolds News*, 17.4.49, this company has "large holdings in Rootes Securities and the Hillman-Humber car group, a 10 per cent. cut in Marks and Spencer, and £40 million of property investments ranging from small houses to expensive flats."

### Tories In Insurance

The insurance and allied interests have powerful backing in the House of Commons and the Lords. The *Sunday Express*, in an article attacking the proposed nationalisation, writes:

"The Tories must tackle with vigour this great potential danger to freedom of enterprise. How? by organising a resistance movement of men who know the facts and figures of the insurance business. That should not be difficult. In the House of Commons alone there are eight Tories who are directors of insurance companies. They are: Mr. Anthony Eden (*Phoenix Assurance*); Mr. Oliver Stanley (*Royal Exchange*); Mr. Oliver Lyttelton (*Alliance*); Earl Winterton (*Royal Exchange*); Lord William Scott (*Licenses and General*); Sir Will Y. Darling (*Scottish Union*); Sir Andrew Duncan (*Royal Exchange*); and Sir John Mellor (*Prudential*). ... in the House of Lords there are 59 members who also grace the boardrooms of insurance companies..." among whom is included Lord Woolton.

### Links With Other Enterprises

The ramifications of the insurance industry into wide fields of commercial and industrial enterprise is typified in the composition of its boards. On the boards of the Royal Exchange Assurance Co. is Lord Bicester, who is a Governor; he is also chairman of Morgan, Grenfell & Co., and is on the board of A.E.I. and Yule, Catto & Co. Other directors include Sir Ronald Weeks who is also on the board of A.E.I. and Vickers Ltd., and the English Steel Corporation. Another director, Sir Aubrey Smith, is on the board of the Metropolitan Ground Rents, Real Property & Finance Co., Standard Telephones, and a number of wharf and shipping companies. Another, Mr. W. Mure, is on the Amalgamated Metal Corpora-

tion and a number of tin and metal companies. Other directors include Sir Andrew Duncan, Tory M.P., who is also on the British Iron & Steel Federation, Dunlop Rubber and I.C.I.; Brigadier the Hon. Hugh Kindersley, a director also of the British Match Corporation and of Whitehall Trust Ltd. Other directors of the Royal Exchange hold positions on Westminster Bank, Barclay's Bank and various brewery companies

### End Capitalist Control

It is clear that the present control of the insurance industry is firmly rooted in the hands of private enterprise. It is equally clear that this control must be taken out of the hands of the industrial side of assurance, and all the complex and manifold fields of capitalist industry in which assurance investing functions.

It can be seen from the facts that merely to nationalise, while leaving the present setup of directors and organisation is not sufficient. Linked by a thousand threads to Big Business and the Tories, the administration of the insurance industry by these directors would be in the interests of the capitalist class and the firms with which they are connected. Thus the Labour movement must fight for control to be vested in representatives responsible to the Unions and other working class organisations.

The Labour movement must oppose any lavish compensation payments to the insurance bosses and press forward for the Government to implement not only nationalisation of assurance as a whole, but the extension of nationalisation to all the major financial, commercial and industrial enterprises.

### IN AID OF THE INTERNATIONAL FUND

### A RECORD CONCERT AND SOCIAL

MODERN RUSSIAN MUSIC on Gramophone Records

R.C.P., 256, HARROW ROAD, LONDON, W.2  
8 p.m. — SUNDAY, 8th MAY  
Admission 1/-

## TROTSKYISM IN JAPAN

For the first time a Trotskyist grouping has been formed in Japan. The Japanese Trotskyists are in the process of forming their organisation and have decided to publish a journal and some of the most important works of Trotsky in the Japanese language. Meanwhile, there is news of opposition tendencies within the Stalinist Party in Japan.

The American journal *New Leader*—organ of the right-wing Socialist organisation—carried an article on Japanese Stalinism in its issue of February 12th, 1949. The article indicated a struggle between two factions of the Japanese Stalinist party, one led by the old-time C.P. leader, Tokuda,

who spent most of his life in gaol, and a second one led by Nosaka, who lived for 15 years in Moscow. The article declares that the ideological life in the Japanese C.P. is more virile than in the old and more completely bureaucratised Stalinist organisations. As an example it quotes an article published in the C.P.'s official theoretical magazine *Zenai*, the writer, Sohei Morita, declares: "I will faithfully follow the party's policies and act upon its instructions until my hopes are realised. If, however, the party should become dictatorial and turn to fascism after the working people are liberated—although I believe otherwise—I will at once rise in revolt against it. Of course, the party will purge me, but I am ready to sacrifice myself as did Trotsky and Bukharin."

### READ

**WORKERS INTERNATIONAL NEWS**

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# PRESSURE AGAINST TITO INCREASES

By B. HUNTER

IT is almost a year now since the Cominform-Yugoslav conflict was precipitated into the open. In this period the breach has widened. From the beginning the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party attempted to maintain a conciliatory attitude towards the Cominform which voiced the dictates of the Russian ruling bureaucracy.

The Moscow bureaucrats, for their part, have continued to make it plain that they will be satisfied with nothing less than 100% capitulation on the part of the Yugoslav leaders—a capitulation which, sooner or later, would mean the physical liquidation of these leaders. Stalin and Co. aim to exercise complete domination over the state apparatuses of the Eastern bloc countries through individuals dependent upon them alone. They are forced to liquidate any Stalinist leaders in these countries who are susceptible to mass pressure or, as in the case of the Yugoslav leaders, whose positions are the result of leadership in mass struggles, thus giving them an independent basis apart from the support of the Kremlin.

The Cominform have swelled the volume of their propaganda blasts against Tito and other Yugoslavs. The journal of the Cominform brands them as "traitors," "imperialist incendiaries" and "bourgeois nationalists." During last year, Pravda even developed the accusation that the Yugoslavs were implicated in the attempt on the life of Togliatti. According to a report at the Congress of the Yugoslav Peoples Front, held at the beginning of April, the press organs and press agencies of the Communist Parties, and the main radio stations of the Cominform countries made about 240 attacks of all kinds on Yugoslavia, during the month of March.

## Cominform Begins Economic Pressure

Added to this propaganda warfare, the Kremlin and the Eastern European Stalinists have begun more concrete forms of pressure by breaking their economic agreements. The Soviet Union's trade with Yugoslavia has decreased to one-eighth of its former volume, Polish trade to one-third, and trade with Rumania, Hungary and Albania has almost ceased. Further, according to figures quoted at a Congress of metal workers in Ljubljana, held in March, the Cominform countries raised prices of what goods they were exporting to Yugoslavia by from 20 to 50%. Thus, a deliberate attempt is being made to wreck the economy of Yugoslavia. The Stalinist bureaucrats, failing success in securing undisputed control over Yugoslavia, would undoubtedly prefer to see it in the camp of the imperialists rather than the continuance of such a dangerous example as Tito's defiance and independence.

Such an example has dangerous possibilities in its encouragement to others of the Eastern European States. Further, the capitulation of Yugoslavia to the West would enable the Kremlin to pose better as the only alternative to the Imperialist camp.

## Cold War "More Violent"

The frenzy of the Cominform's attacks were commented on by Alexander Werth (Manchester Guardian, 2.4.49) who declared that a cold war, "more violent than the cold war between East and West is being waged by the East against Yugoslavia."

This is the situation which has forced the Y.C.P. leaders into sharper criticisms of the Cominform.

Pijade, at the People's Front Congress, declared that the Cominform would have to use force to conquer Yugoslavia. Tito, in his speech, accused the Cominform of having deviated from Marxism-Leninism, and alleged there was proof that in several of the Communist Parties there are "agents of certain capitalist States among the higher and even the highest leaders."

He sharply attacked the Cominform attempt to provoke an insurrection, stating quite correctly—that this appeal to insurrection "could not be made out of sympathy for the new Yugoslavia. It was the result, not only of the introduction of un-Socialist methods into relations between Socialist countries, but also a preliminary step towards the realisation of certain aims having nothing in common with Marxist and Leninist conceptions of equality

of rights and of sovereignty of small nations, nothing in common with a correct understanding of the solutions of the national question, with the free will of each people to decide whether and when to unite with some other people, or to secede if such union proves not to be in that peoples' interest."

## Yugoslavs Oppose Imperialists

The Peoples Front Congress passed a resolution unanimously condemning the "slander campaign by Russia and the Peoples' Democracies." The resolution further declared that Yugoslavia "must continue to oppose the war-mongering Imperialists." As yet, Yugoslavia continues its independence—the Stalinist accusations that it has already entered the camp of Western Imperialism are a product of the slander machine.

At this stage, because of the international tension the leaders of the Y.C.P. are able to balance their regime between East and West. Tito, at the People's Front Congress, addressed the capitalist nations as follows.

"Wrong are all those warmongering, reactionary elements in capitalist countries who imagine that they can count on us in some way in their war plans owing to the difficult situation in which our country finds itself today due to the attitude of certain Eastern countries towards us."

## Tito Maintains Stalinist Methods

However, Tito while talking of the necessity to "hold out" against all attacks and "show the toilers of the entire world what a small country like ours can do when they are conscious of their objectives" failed to develop a programme for a campaign to win the support of the world working class.

The Y.C.P. leaders fail to draw the lessons of the dangers of Stalinist methods, not only for Yugoslavia, but throughout the world. Because of the fact that the regime in Yugoslavia came into being as the result of

a mass upsurge, because the Y.C.P. leaders must seek to maintain mass support in their struggle against the Cominform, their regime is probably linked closer to the masses than those of the other countries of Eastern Europe and Russia. However, Tito a Stalinist for many years, takes Stalinist methods and Russia as a model. In dealing with his opponents he is just as ready as Stalin to use accusations that they are linked with Imperialism. He states that there is "enormous evidence and several living witnesses" to show that Hebrang (the Yugoslav leader who was one of the Kremlin's stooges) was in the service of the Ustashi. Yet, despite all this alleged evidence, Hebrang and Zujovic have remained in gaol for a year now without trial. It was revealing also to see that Tito in his speech, from which we quoted above, in the manner of other Eastern European leaders referred proudly to a "monolithic C.P. such as ours" the essence of which is a C.P. without internal democracy, with criticism rigidly suppressed; its policy dictated solely from above.

## Necessity for Real Internationalism

It is clear that Yugoslavia, isolated as it is, must succumb to the pressure of one camp or the other in the long run unless it has a leadership capable of rousing the support of the international working class. That demands a struggle for workers' democracy at home, and the building of a Communist International which will make a real exposure of Stalinist methods. While the struggle of Yugoslavia to maintain its independence against the domination of the Kremlin must be supported by all revolutionary workers, it must be understood that the development of Yugoslavia along the road of Socialism necessitates a revolutionary leadership that will take the road of the international struggle against Stalinism and Imperialism—the road of the Fourth International.

# MARKOS PURGE

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## "Self Criticism"

As for Zachariades, he enjoys, at least in appearance, Moscow's complete confidence. Responsible for the policies of the Greek C.P. for several years, and particularly for its policies during the occupation and the December uprising, he has just made, "in true Bolshevik manner," his "self-criticism" in a long article published in the Cominform organ, "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy." As if nothing at all were amiss, he puts on display all the "mistakes" (i.e., the collaboration with imperialism and the bourgeoisie) which led to the December 1944 defeat and to the capitulation (of January 11, 1945). But he breathes not a word about the fact that this policy, in no way limited solely to the Greek C.P., was in reality the normal application of the Kremlin's general line during World War II.

## "Opportunist Right Deviation"

The Greek journals of Athens, dated February 8, 1949, have published the resolutions adopted

by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party, which met on January 30-31 on Mount Grammos and deposed Markos.

The text of these resolutions according to these journals, has been broadcast over the radio of "Free Greece."

The Central Committee discussed the following four points:

1. Greece in the path of victory (Report by Zachariadis).
2. The opportunist right deviation in the Greek Party. (Report of M. Vlantas).
3. Changes in the composition of the C.C. and P.B.
4. Election of a new Political Bureau.

Only the report of Zachariades was broadcast by the "Free Greek" radio. The Political Bureau decided that the resolution adopted on November 15, 1948, against the opportunist deviation in the Party, be approved but "for the moment" the resolution is not to be published.

# LABOUR'S PROGRAMME

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cates, would aggravate the very problem of slump if 80 per cent. of industry (and that is what they propose) is left in private hands.

The nationalisation programme which the Executive intends to introduce in the next Parliament, came as a great blow. Only life insurance, sugar and cement are on the list. True, this will affect a powerful section of the ruling class but, no doubt, they will be able to bear up under the same generous terms of compensation which will be bestowed on them. They will further have the assurance that the capitalist system will remain.

## What The Resolutions Reflect

Labour's rank-and-file looked for other things from Labour's second five years. This is reflected in the resolutions submitted for the 48th Annual Conference of the Labour Party which is meeting at Blackpool this Whitsuntide. Here, the issues which affect the day-to-day lives of the workers are to the fore. Housing, the rising cost of living, the frozen wages, the exorbitant profits, the control and management of nationalised industries—these are the problems to which the rank-and-file seek a Socialist answer.

Many of the resolutions are far from clear, but they show a greater understanding of the real essence of Socialism than does the draft programme of the National Executive. Socialism is not just a matter of transforming the employees of private enterprise into civil servants. Socialism demands a revolutionary change in human relations, an end to the old set-up of exploiters and exploited, master and servant. To substitute the capitalist State for the private employer does not achieve this task. Indeed, by abolishing the competition for labour between the different groups of capitalists, it lays the workers open to a more intensified exploitation. Only the democratic control of every phase of the economy by the workers themselves can guarantee an end to the old capitalist social relations. That the workers are wide

awake to this is shown in several of the resolutions. But, because of the piece-meal nature of the nationalisation measures so far carried out by the Labour Government, most of them fall into error. Socialist control is only possible when the whole of the economy is in the hands of the working people. Then, and only then, will it be possible to plan production and distribution on a national scale.

Delegates to the Conference will not lightly accept the Executive's proposals to set up "consumers' councils for the Socialised industries" as a substitute for genuine organs of workers' control and workers' management. These councils will be without real power.

## "Moderate Socialism"

The recent County Council elections, coming on top of the typically capitalist Budget, have made it clear that a policy of "moderate Socialism" fails to attract the middle classes, while it leads to the disillusionment of tens of thousands of workers. These factors will be in the minds of many delegates at Blackpool and will spur them on to fight for a real Socialist policy.

On the success of their fight, the future of the Labour Party will largely depend. The Cripps Budget, as well as the proposed programme clearly shows that there is a limit to the concessions which reformism can wring from a declining British capitalism. That limit has almost been reached. That is why the promises of increased social services are subjected to the condition of an ever-expanding production—a pipe-dream under conditions of capitalist competition. The coming slump will put an end to the present phase of "full employment" and to the hopes of an ever-rising production curve. Not only will there be no expanding social services but the existing ones will be greatly imperilled.

ONLY THE COMPLETE REORGANISATION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY ON THE BASIS OF A SOCIALIST PLAN CAN WARD OFF THIS DISASTER.

# THE BUDGET

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## No More Rich To Tax ?

"There is not much further immediate possibility of the redistribution of national income by way of taxation in this country..." said Cripps in his Budget speech.

But the White Paper on national income and expenditure for 1948 shows that there exists a very substantial untapped source of taxation—the rising profits of capitalist enterprise. While wages increased from £3,350 million in 1947 to £3,975 million in 1948, an increase of about 12½ per cent., trading profits of companies alone rose by 17 per cent.

Wages took 41 per cent. of the national income; rent, interest and profits, 32 per cent. However, the White Paper shows that 30 per cent. of all personal income was required to meet taxation compared with 19 per cent. in 1938. And while taxation of company profits has decreased from £545 million in 1946 to £427 million in 1948; indirect taxation, which bears most heavily upon the working class, has increased. In 1946, indirect taxation (less subsidies) was £1,177 million—in 1947, £1,306 million—and in 1948, £1,564 million. As indirect taxation makes up more than half the total taxes paid by individuals out of personal income, the real share of wages, after all taxes, must be much less favourable than is shown in the White Paper.

## Equal Sacrifice ?

Compared with 1938, the cost of living, according to the White Paper, has increased by 80 per cent. The new Budget will mean a further rise in the cost of living.

The cut in food subsidies will save £67 million. But the interest on the National Debt alone is more than £500,000,000. This sum goes largely in payment to the monopolists and

financiers who made millions out of the last four big wars. The cancellation of this debt (with full payment to small bondholders) would give up to £1 a week extra to each family in Britain. Instead of taxing the poor, Sir Stafford, why not strike against this huge parasitic burden?

The workers have been patient with the Labour Government, believing that it would carry forward a policy in their interests. But they cannot see that a policy which demands sacrifices from them alone, while the employers and capitalist interests remain free to reap a rich harvest of profits from their toil, can be anything else but a policy which upholds the interests of private enterprise. Labour's set-back in the L.C.C. elections were a sign that the workers are hostile and critical of the Government's failure to take sweeping measures against the profiteering capitalists.

Let the organised Labour movement heed this warning in time, and press forward for the Government to implement a policy in the interests of the workers. Demanding, as part of such a policy, that the Government immediately imposes a steeply graduated tax on all capital above £2,000, and heavy taxation on all incomes from profits, rent and interest. The introduction of legislation setting up Consumers' Committees composed of representatives of housewives, the Co-ops., and small-shopkeepers, to ensure strict price control and non-profiteering in foodstuffs and all consumer goods. Together with these steps, the implementation of a wage-policy based on a sliding scale, starting at a trade union minimum, so that wages can keep pace with the rising cost-of-living.